

Message Text

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ACTION IO-13

INFO OCT-01 AF-08 ARA-06 EUR-12 EA-07 NEA-10 ISO-00

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-04 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05

PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SY-05 SCCT-01 /109 W

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P 152133Z JUL 76

FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8326

INFO AMEMBASSY BUCHAREST PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY MOSCOW PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY NAIROBI PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY PANAMA PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY PARIS PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY ROME PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY TOKYO PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN PRIORITY

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 2909

COPENHAGEN FOR GOVERNOR SCRANTON

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, UNSC, UG, IS, US

SUBJECT: RESULTS OF SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATE ON ENTEBBE
INCIDENT

1. AS REPORTED IN OTHER TELEGRAMS, SECURITY COUNCIL DEBATE
ENDED EARLY EVENING JULY 14 WITHOUT CONCLUSIVE ACTION.
HIGHLY PARTISAN AFRICAN DRAFT (BENIN, LIBYA, TANZANIA) WHICH
CONCENTRATED EXCLUSIVELY ON CONDEMNATION OF ISRAEL AND FAILED
EVEN TO INCLUDE MENTION OF HIJACKING PROVED TOO ONE-SIDED
FOR SWING DELEGATIONS LIKE PANAMA AND SWEDEN AND CONSEQUENTLY
LACKED SUFFICIENT VOTES FOR PASSAGE. LIBYA HAD REFUSED TO
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ACCOMMODATE THOSE COUNTRIES BY ALTERING HARD LINE LANGUAGE OF

DRAFT RESOLUTION. NON-ALIGNED WERE STUNNED AND EMBARRASSED OVER THIS UNUSUAL SITUATION AND AFTER SEVERAL DISCUSSIONS AMONG THEMSELVES DECIDED TO WITHDRAW THEIR RESOLUTION RATHER THAN HAVE IT MEET DEFEAT IN COUNCIL WHICH THEY WOULD HAVE REGARDED AS HUMILIATING. THERE WAS THUS NO CONDEMNATION OF ISRAEL FOR ENTEBBE OPERATION AS DESIRED BY AFRICANS AND THEIR COMMUNIST AND NON-ALIGNED SUPPORTERS.

2. IT WAS CLEAR FROM BEGINNING THAT UK/U.S. DRAFT WOULD NOT ATTRACT NINE VOTES NECESSARY FOR ADOPTION. OUR COUNT REMAINED CONSTANT AT SIX SUPPORTING, WITH PANAMA ABSTAINING. IN THE END WE PICKED UP AN ABSTENTION FROM ROMANIA WHICH, IN VIEW OF THE NON PARTICIPATION GAMBIT DECIDED ON BY SPONSORS OF AFRICAN RESOLUTION AND THEIR SUPPORTERS (THIS IS FIRST TIME USSR HAS USED DEVICE OF NON-PARTICIPATION, ORIGINALLY A CHINESE INNOVATION WHICH HAS SLOWLY BUT STEADILY CAUGHT ON AS AN AMPLIFICATION OF UNITED NATIONS VOTING PROCEDURES), WAS SIGNIFICANT IN ENABLING US TO MAKE POINT THAT WITH MAJORITY PARTICIPATING IN VOTE THERE WAS NOT ONE VOTE AGAINST OUR RESOLUTION.

2. ONCE THE OTHER SIDE HAD DECIDED ON WITHDRAWAL, PRESSURES MOUNTED ON BRITAIN AND U.S. TO PULL BACK IN SIMILAR FASHION. SECURITY COUNCIL PRESIDENT VINCI OF ITALY, WHO IS OVER-READ ON MACHIAVELLIAN TACTICS AND CONSIDERABLY LESS EQUIPPED AS REGARDS STRATEGIC CONCEPTS, WAS FOREMOST AND PERSISTENT IN URGING ATTEMPTS FOR A COMPROMISE TEXT. THERE WAS IN REALITY NO POSSIBILITY OF COMPROMISE BETWEEN THOSE WHO INSISTED ON CONDEMNING ISRAEL AND THOSE WHO WERE DETERMINED ON A MORE BALANCED RESOLUTION WHICH WOULD UPHOLD SOVEREIGNTY AND TERRITORIAL INTEGRITY BUT WHICH WOULD DEAL PRIMARILY WITH ISSUE OF HIJACKING WHICH CAUSED ENTEBBE INCIDENT. JAPAN BECAME WOBBLY UNDER PRESSURE AND VINCI ASSERTED HE HAD APPEALS FROM TANZANIA AND ROMANIA AS WELL. WE WERE APPROACHED OUTSIDE THE COUNCIL BY SUCH NON-SC MEMBERS AS MALTA AND YUGOSLAVIA AND URGED TO GIVE UP OUR RESOLUTION. WE AND UK DELEGATION WEIGHED IN HEAVILY WITH VINCI BUT, WHEN FINAL SC MEETING BEGAN, HIS ATTITUDE WAS STILL UNCERTAIN. DURING DEBATE, HOWEVER, ITALIANS INFORMED BRITISH THAT VINCI HAD CHANGED HIS MIND AND WAS PREPARED TO PROCEED

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WITH VOTING. HIS BACK HAD APPARENTLY BEEN STIFFENED BY HEAVY-FOOTED ATTACK ON HIM BY SOVIET REPRESENTATIVE KHARLAMOV DURING COURSE OF DEBATE (USUN 2897) AND BY STRONG UKUN PRESSURE.

3. WE FULLY EXPECTED OTHER SIDE TO MOVE TO SUSPEND DEBATE AND THUS DENY A VOTE ON OUR RESOLUTION. ACCORDING TO OUR COUNT, PANAMA WOULD HAVE SWITCHED TO SUPPORT

SUSPENSION AND JAPAN MIGHT HAVE FOLLOWED SUIT. IT SEEMED TO US THAT THE OTHER SIDE HAD THE REQUISITE NINE VOTES, BUT APPARENTLY THEY CONSIDERED MATTER TOO UNCERTAIN TO ATTEMPT IT.

4. DIRE PREDICTIONS OF EFFECTS OF VOTING ON UK/U.S. RESOLUTION WERE NOT BORNE OUT. VINCI ADMITTED TO ME AFTERWARDS THAT HE HAD PERHAPS BEEN OVERLY CONCERNED. AFRICAN REACTION STRIKES US AS MORE POSITIVE THAN USUAL. FACT OF WESTERN AND JAPANESE UNITY WAS NOT LOST ON SO PERCEPTIVE A MAN AS SALIM OF TANZANIA. HE ADMITTED IN PRIVATE CONVERSATION THAT PERCEIVED NEED FOR GROUP UNITY ON PART OF AFRICANS OFTEN LEADS THEM TO DEFEND SOME VERY BAD CASES AS WITH ENTEBBE INCIDENT. SALIM ARGUED THAT PRINCIPAL AFRICAN CONCERN IN PRESENT CASE WAS THAT ISRAELI ACTION AT ENTEBBE MIGHT CONSTITUTE PRECEDENT FOR SOUTH AFRICA TO STAGE SIMILAR RAIDS IN SELECTED BLACK AFRICAN COUNTRIES. IN THAT CONNECTION, LANGUAGE SUPPLIED BY DEPARTMENT FOR OUR FINAL STATEMENT THAT WE DID NOT CONSIDER THIS CASE A PRECEDENT WAS REASSURING TO HIM. NET RESULT OF THIS DEBATE AND PRIVATE CONVERSATIONS GOVERNOR SCRANTON AND I HAD WITH SALIM OUTSIDE COUNCIL CHAMBER AND AS WE SAT SIDE BY SIDE IN MEETING IS THAT, IN MY CONSIDERED VIEW, OUR RELATIONSHIP WITH SALIM IS PERHAPS ON MORE INTIMATE AND WARMER BASIS THAN BEFORE. HE WAS EMBARRASSED OVER HAVING TO DEFEND AMIN'S UGANDA AND DID NOT HIDE IT FROM US. WE DID NOT EXPLOIT HIS EMBARRASSMENT, AND HE APPRECIATED THAT. HOPEFULLY THIS FRANK RELATIONSHIP, AND THE MUTUAL RESPECT INVOLVED IN IT, WILL YIELD SOME DIVIDENDS IN THE FUTURE ON SUCH DIFFICULT ISSUES AS PUERTO RICO.

5. OTHER AFRICAN REACTIONS WERE SIMILARLY FAVORABLE. WE HAD WARM APPROACHES FROM KENYA, MAURITANIA, IVORY COAST AND OTHERS, AND EVEN BENIN ON THE OTHER SIDE OF US IN CONFIDENTIAL

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COUNCIL WAS MORE FORTHCOMING THAN USUAL. MAURITIAN FOREIGN MINISTER DID NOT HIDE HIS RESPECT FOR ISRAELI ACTIONS EVEN WHILE DENOUNCING THEM, AND HE AND UK REPRESENTATIVE RICHARD ENGAGED IN GOOD-NATURED JOSHING IN COUNCIL. WE MADE OUR MANNERS TO FOREIGN MINISTER AT END OF DEBATE.

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ACTION IO-13

INFO OCT-01 AF-08 ARA-06 EUR-12 EA-07 NEA-10 ISO-00

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PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 SY-05 SCCT-01 /109 W

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USUN 2909

COPENHAGEN FOR GOVERNOR SCRANTON

6. EUROPEANS AND JAPANESE STOOD WITH US IN THE VOTING
THOUGH NOT WITHOUT SOME QUALMS AS DESCRIBED ABOVE. FRENCH
DID NOT APPROACH US HERE, ALTHOUGH WE UNDERSTOOD THEY MADE
REPRESENTATIONS BOTH IN WASHINGTON AND IN LONDON. FRENCH
ACTING PERMREP EXPLAINED AFTERWARDS THAT HIS CONCERN WAS
THAT FAILURE OF PASSAGE OF OUR RESOLUTION WOULD BE
EXPLOITED BY TERRORIST GROUPS IN EUROPE WHO WOULD FEEL
THEMSELVES FREE TO ORGANIZE FUTURE TERRORIST OPERATIONS.

7. DEBATE PROVIDED OPPORTUNITY FOR FULL AIRING OF HIJACKING
PROBLEM AS WE DISCUSSED ISRAELI OPERATION. EVEN THOSE DELE-
GATIONS DETERMINED TO CONDEMN ISRAEL IN MOST CASES FOUND IT
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DESIRABLE TO PROCLAIM THEIR OPPOSITION TO HIJACKING
AND OTHER ASPECTS OF TERRORIST ACTIVITY. SOME OF THIS WAS
LIP SERVICE NO DOUBT, BUT FACT REMAINS THAT THE ISSUE OF

TERRORISM, PARTICULARLY AIRCRAFT HIJACKING, WAS ADDRESSED MORE SQUARELY DURING THIS DEBATE THAN ANY IN PREVIOUS UN CONSIDERATION. THERE IS NOW A WIDER RANGE OF STATEMENTS ON THE RECORD DEPLORING HIJACKING AND RECOGNIZING THE NEED FOR INTERNATIONAL ACTION THAN WE HAVE HAD BEFORE. IN POST-COUNCIL DISCUSSION IN WHICH I TOOK PART, WALDHEIM, RICHARD AND VINCI ALL AGREED DEBATE HAD PROVIDED HIGHLY USEFUL AND OPEN DISCUSSION ON ISSUE OF INTERNATIONAL TERRORISM AND ITS FATEFUL CONSEQUENCES WITH RESPECT TO HUMAN LIFE AND PROPERTY. DEBATE PROVIDED CONTRIBUTION TO THE GROWTH, SLOW AS IT IS, OF A BODY OF INTERNATIONAL OPINION AND COMMUNITY OF VIEWPOINT FROM WHICH HOPEFULLY REMEDIAL ACTION WILL FINALLY EMERGE.

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Message Attributes

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Draft Date: 15 JUL 1976
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Decaption Note:
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